Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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CO-OPERATIVE HOUSEKEEPING.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

(Continued from last week).

"I haven't described our Co-operative home to you. It is built round a square garden and there is another garden round it. There is also a garden on the roof. The dining-room and kitchen are on the top floor. The school nursery, crêche, and children's garden is at the end of the block of buildings. There are a tennis court, croquet lawn, a hall for meetings, concerts, dances, and so on, a sewing room, workshops for all sorts of crafts, a library and gymnasium, and two big summer houses in the garden, one of which is for the older children.

"At the end of the week, our rooms were ready, and we moved in. The Secretary invited us to tea, but I told her I'd brought everything with me, and firmly declined her invitation. I felt rather rude for doing so, but I knew there'd be no end to it if I once allowed us to get on friendly terms with the other inmates. A member of the House Committee was with the Secretary, and offered to help me to unpack, or to move anything I wanted changed. She looked ever so charming; indeed, she's my best friend now; but I wouldn't unbend in the least, and told her I was quite able to manage by myself.

"The children asked to go down to the garden, and Ethel said she had heard there was a gymnasium, and asked if she couldn't go to see it. 'That's not for you, Ethel,' I said, and I told the children I wanted them to help me to unpack.

"They were soon thoroughly enjoying that and admiring everything in our rooms.

"We were all busy till bed time and they said no more about going out.

"Next morning, I told Ethel it was time she went back to school. I got breakfast in time for her to go, and then took Rene and Laura into the garden and told them not to go out of sight of our windows, and to play quietly there till I came.

"I had only just got upstairs again when there was a knock on our door and some one called, 'Cleaners?' 'Not here,' I said, and I heard them go on to the next door. Then I peeped out and saw some young men and women in blue overalls. They had all sorts of machines I had never seen before with them, including a thing I recognised from pictures I had seen as a vacuum cleaner. I felt sorry I had missed the chance of seeing it work. But presently, one of the young women came back and said she thought my flat had been missed out by mistake. I just opened the door and let them come in with the vacuum cleaner and all the rest of their tackle, so that I could see how the cleaner worked.

"Ethel, careless little minx, had made some nasty black marks on the new carpet, through not cleaning her muddy shoes when she came in. I had wiped up the mess as best I could, but the marks still showed, and I thought I should have to wash the corner of the carpet with soap and water. When the cleaner had passed over the place, the marks had quite disappeared. It seemed quite a miracle to me then.

"I was just beginning to wash up—I hate washing up—I loathe housework—when one of the young women in blue said: 'Look! we do it like this!'

"Before I could interpose, she began packing the plates into a rack in a cupboard over the sink—I had wondered what that cupboard was for. When she had put them all in, she turned a tap that sent streams of hot water over them. She could make it soapy or plain. When they were clean, she turned on another tap that sent a gust of hot air over them until they were dry. 'You can leave them in these until you want to use them again,' she said, 'but I should do as little as possible of that up here if I were you—it's much nicer having meals in the common rooms.'

"I saw two of the young women going into my bedroom. I followed, and found them tearing the sheets off the bed.

" 'Those sheets don't need washing,' I told them, 'they've only been slept in once.'

" 'Oh! don't you know? They're asbestos. We only use them once, then they're burnt in the furnace and come out perfectly clean and sterilised. It's no trouble to do them every day.'

" 'You haven't lit the fire,' one of them added. 'You have three alternatives; electric heater here—press the button, so; hot water radiator, supplied from the central furnace, turn that screw; or the coal fire, to light it, first turn this handle that releases the coal.' As she turned it, the coal flopped down into the grate from a container above. 'Now, by an automatic arrangement, the ashes will fall into a container below, and the coal will come down into the fireplace, gradually as required. Once we have released the mechanism by turning this handle, a certain weight of coal will be always kept in the fireplace until the container is exhausted. It holds coal to last 48 hours. The fire will go on burning. When lighted, you will turn off the coal supply, in which case it will burn itself out in due course, or you can hasten the process by moving that handle. To light the fire, you press down that switch, and apply the electric lighter which is now glowing, raise the switch and pull out the lighter as soon as the coal is well lit. Of course, you know these grates don't require blacking; the polisher Frank is using keeps them right.'

" 'The windows were cleaned yesterday. They are done inside and out once a week, or after a heavy rainfall, if they seem to need it. The curtains are changed once weekly. Yours, I see, are of asbestos and will simply be passed through the furnace—but we see to them in any case, whether they are stored, washed, or dry-cleaned.'

"I had put some of the children's pinafores to soak.

" 'Oh don't do that. We get those done in the laundry; if you don't mind, we'll take them down in the tub as they are. We'll let you have it back later. Frank, will you please carry that tub into the trolley for me; it has to go down to the laundry.

" 'I see you know how to use the electric cooker. Mary has done the pans for you. If you want to do them for yourself at any time, just use the automatic pan cleanser as soon as you've finished with them; turn that on for a few seconds, so, then that, that, and that, so, so, and so—you'll find it only takes a few seconds—but really, I shouldn't bother with cooking up here, if I were you.'

"The place was now all spick and span; it would have taken me the greater part of the morning to do the cleaning, and now in a few minutes it was finished, and far better than I could ever have done it. I stood there feeling a fool and uncomfortable, as though I were having the work done for me under false pretences

"After the cleaners had gone, I decided I would do my shopping and take Rene and Laura with me, but they were nowhere to be seen in the garden, and I called and searched till a nurse came out of what I found to be the baby's garden. She told me that two fresh pupils had come unannounced to the nursery school, and that these were probably the children I was looking for. You'll find they've made themselves quite at home with us!'

"I went with her and discovered Rene and Laura.

"Rene was doing musical exercises with some other children, who were following each other round and round on a circle painted in white on the floor. Rene was pointing her toes and dancing along like a little peacock! Laura, I could see through a doorway in another room; she was wearing another pretty, new overall, with an apron over it, and was helping to wait on some little girls and boys who were sitting at a table, having buns and milk.

"I called to my children.

"Rene looked over her shoulder and tossed her head at me laughing. 'I can't mother, I'm too busy.'

"Laura didn't even hear me.

"I went for Laura first, took the dish of buns out of her hands, and began to undo the apron. She screamed and cried.

"One of the teachers came to me. 'Won't you let your little girl stay?'

" 'No, I will not!'

"I called Rene again, while I wrenched off Laura's overall; she was resisting with all her might.

"Rene took no notice of me until one of the teachers told her to go to me.

"I dragged my children away. They were both crying as hard as they could, and the worst of it was, they wouldn't stop when I got them home.

"When Ethel came in from school, her first question was: 'May I go to dinner with the other children?' I told her, 'No.' She pouted and grumbled that she didn't want 'a nasty old dinner all by ourselves.' She took the part of Rene and Laura, who were still sulking and crying. 'Why can't you let them go to the nursery school, where they'd enjoy themselves and learn something? I think it's too bad of you, mother!'

"Presently, Ethel burst out: 'Our school is quite different since we went away—all been done up; you wouldn't know it; and the lessons are much nicer; all the teachers are new; I'm going to learn the piano, and French, and all sorts of things. Everything's better than it used to be!'

"When she was in the doorway, ready to go, she went on again: 'I don't care what you say, mother, I'm *going* to have tea with the other children; I'm *going* to see what everything's like. I'm *not* going to live all to ourselves. I've been hearing all about it from the other girls in playtime, and I think it's lovely, whatever you say, so there! You told me they were horrid people, but they are not—and why don't you try it yourself, mother? The other girl's mothers like it.'

"She banged the door, and then opened it for

(Continued on page 5).

ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. — By N. LENIN.

[*Conclusion.*]

V.

Let us proceed a step further.

The proletariat may conquer political power, introduce the Soviet system, and satisfy the economic needs of the workers at the expense of the exploiters.

But is this sufficient for a complete and decisive victory?

No.

Only the illusions of petty-bourgeois democrats, of "Socialists," and social-democrats and their most prominent leaders can create the belief that under the capitalist regime the mass of workers can attain a sufficient degree of consciousness, firmness of character, insight, and breadth of political outlook to decide *solely by means of the vote*, or *decide* by any means at all, except after a long experience of class war, to follow definitely any given party.

It is a simple delusion, a charming fable dear to such pedants and gentle Socialists as Kautsky, Longuet, and Macdonald.

Capitalism would not be capitalism if it did not on the one hand condemn the masses to brutishness, timidity, diffuseness and ignorance, and on the other, place at the disposal of the bourgeoisie a gigantic apparatus of falsehood and deceit for duping and brutalising the masses of workers and peasants.

That is why the proletariat alone is capable of leading the masses to Socialism and Communism. It is inconceivable that the petty-bourgeois or semi-petty-bourgeois labouring masses can decide in advance that most serious of economic problems; whether to side with the proletariat or with the bourgeoisie. The *vacillations* of the non-proletarian labouring masses are inevitable; it is also inevitable that they should require their own *practical experience* in order to *compare* the government of the bourgeoisie with that of the proletariat.

Civil War Only Solution.

The worshippers of "consistent democracy," who imagine that the most important political problems can be solved by the method of the vote, constantly lose sight of this truth. As a matter of fact, if these problems become urgent and acute during the course of the struggle, it is only *civil war* that can finally solve them. The *practical experience* of the non-proletarian labouring masses (above all, of the peasants) is of tremendous importance; they need to compare the power of the proletariat with that of the bourgeoisie.

In Russia the elections to the Constituent Assembly, of November, 1917, compared with a civil war of two years, are very edifying.

For in what regions did the Bolsheviki achieve least success? First in the East-Ural and in Siberia, where they obtained 12 and 10 per cent. Then in the Ukraine, where they only obtained 10 per cent. Of the other regions the smallest percentage was obtained in the peasant districts of Greater Russia, the Volga and the Steppes, but here the Bolsheviki vote reached 16 per cent.

Now it is precisely in those districts, where the Bolshevik votes in 1917 were least, that we observe the most striking success of the counter-revolutionary movements. It was precisely in these regions that the power of Koltchak and Denikin was sustained for so many months.

Vacillation of Petty-Bourgeoisie.

The hesitation of the petty-bourgeoisie in the regions where the influence of the proletariat was weakest betrayed itself in a most remarkable manner.

At first they sided with the Bolsheviki because they gave land, because they demobilised the soldiers, because they proclaimed peace. Then they turned against the Bolsheviki when, to preserve the homes of Russia, they consented to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, whereby the deepest feelings of the petty-bourgeoisie, their patriotism, were injured. The dictatorship of the proletariat displeased the peasants especially where there was an abundance of bread, for the Bolsheviki insisted with great firmness that excess of cereals must be sold to the State at fixed, legal prices. Consequently, the peasant classes of the Urals, of Siberia, and the Ukraine sided with Koltchak and Denikin.

Then the experience of the democracy of Koltchak and Denikin, abundantly boomed in every number of every White journal of the two kingdoms, proved to the peasants that the eloquent phrases about democracy and the constitution only served to conceal the dictatorship of the landed proprietor and the capitalist.

A reaction in favour of the Bolsheviki commenced; peasant revolts became frequent in the rear of Koltchak and Denikin. The Red armies were received by the peasants as liberators.

In a word, it is precisely this hesitancy of the peasantry, that is, the most important part of the petty-bourgeois working masses, which is resolved by the fate of the Government of the Soviets or of Koltchak and Denikin. But before this conclusion could be reached, Russia had to traverse a long period of painful struggle and tragic experience, lasting two years in Russia, and which is still proceeding in Siberia and the Ukraine. No one can say when this period will definitely end, whether it will last another year, or even longer.

The partisans of "consistent democracy" have not meditated the significance of this historic fact. Instead, they delude themselves with the childish fairy tale that the proletariat can, under capitalism, solidly attract the majority of the workers to its side by means of the vote. But the facts prove that only a long and cruel struggle can induce the *vacillating* petty-bourgeoisie to conclude from a comparison of the dictatorship of the proletariat with that of the capitalist, that the first is preferable.

In theory, all Socialists who have studied Marxism and pay attention to the teachings of the political history of civilised countries during the nineteenth century, realise the inevitable *vacillations* of the petty-bourgeoisie between the proletariat and the capitalist class. The economic roots of these vacillations have been indicated by economic science, the elementary truths of which the Socialists of the Second International have repeated in their journals, manifestoes and pamphlets a million times.

The Class War.

But these folk do not know how to apply these truths to the peculiar period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They substitute petty-bourgeois democratic illusions and prejudices (concerning the equality of classes, pure, or consistent democracy, and the decision of great historical questions by means of the vote) for the *class war*. They cannot understand that when the proletariat has conquered political power, he has not ended the war of the classes, but only continues it under another form and by other means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class war carried on by the proletariat with another weapon: the power of government; it is the class war, of which one of the functions is to prove to the non-proletarian working masses, by a long experience and a series of practical examples, that it is better for him to declare for the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the dictatorship of the capitalist, and that no middle course exists.

The figures for the elections to the Constituent Assembly of November, 1917, constitute the background for the picture presented to us by two years of civil war. The principal forces in that war are already clearly perceptible during the elections: one can perceive the rôles of the "shock troops" of the proletarian army, of the hesitating peasant class, and of the bourgeoisie. N. V. Sviatitsky says in his article: "The cadets had the greatest success in the same regions as the Bolsheviki, the North and the industrial centres." It is natural that in the most developed capitalist centres the intermediary elements between the proletarian and the capitalist should be the most feeble. It is natural that in these centres the class war should reach the maximum of acuteness. It is precisely here that we find the main forces of the capitalists, and it is precisely here, and nowhere else, that the proletariat can vanquish them. The proletariat alone can inflict a crushing defeat, and it is only after having inflicted this defeat that the proletariat, making use of political power, can gain the sympathy and the support of the petty-bourgeois sections of the population.

These figures of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, if one can read them profitably, once more demonstrate the essential truths of the Marxian teaching concerning the class war.

The National Question.

Among other things they demonstrate the rôle and importance of the national question. Take the Ukraine. The author of these lines during the last conferences on the Ukrainian question was accused of exaggerating the seriousness of the national question in this country. The figures of the elections to the Constituent Assembly show that in November, 1917, the *Ukrainian* Social-Revolutionaries in that country obtained the majority (3.4 million votes to 0.5 million—3.9 millions against 1.9 million for the Russian Social-Revolutionaries, out of a total Ukrainian vote of 7.6 millions). On the South-East front, and on the Roumanian front, the Ukrainian Socialists obtained 30 per cent. and 34 per cent. of the total votes, 10 per cent. and 59 per cent. being accorded to the Russian Social-Revolutionaries.

In view of this situation, to ignore the national question in the Ukraine, as is often done by the Great Russians—and, perhaps a little less often, by the Jews—is to commit a grave and serious error. The division in Ukrainia since 1917 between the Russian Social-Revolutionaries and the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries cannot be the effect of chance. As internationalists, it is our duty, in the first place, to combat energetically the relics of Greater Russian chauvinism among the "Russian" Communists; and, in the second place, to make concessions precisely in this relatively unimportant matter of nationality (from the internationalist point of view the question of frontiers, if it is not of the tenth order, is always secondary). Other questions are important to us; the essential interests of the proletarian dictatorship are important; the unity and discipline of the Red army fighting against Denikin are important; the directing rôle played by the proletraiat with reference to the peasant classes is important; but the question as to whether the Ukraine will constitute an independent State or not is of much less importance. We must not betray surprise or anxiety at the prospect of the workers and peasants of the Ukraine experimenting in various systems, and during a long course of years, sometimes unite with the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, sometimes separate to form a Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, or even experiment with some form or other of less intimate union.

The attempt to solve this question in advance by "firmness" and resolution would be to betray narrowness of spirit, or lack of comprehension, for this species of hesitation on the part of the non-proletarian working masses is altogether natural, and even inevitable, and the proletariat has nothing to fear. The representative of the proletariat who is truly an internationalist must display the greatest circumspection and patience towards *this* hesitancy; he must leave it to the non-proletarian working masses *themselves* to outlive these hesitations by their own experience. It is upon other and more important questions, some of which were indicated above, that we must be impatient and pitiless, inflexible and unshakeable.

Bourgeois Parliamentarism v. Proletarian Revolution.

A comparison between the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1917, and the development of the revolution in Russia from October, 1917, to December, 1919, permits us to draw conclusions applicable to bourgeois parliamentarism and the proletarian revolution in every capitalist state. Let us put them briefly:—

1. Universal suffrage furnishes a means of measuring the extent to which the classes comprehend their duties. It shows how they *tend* to resolve the questions presented to them. Decisions, however, are not made by the vote, but by every form of the class-struggle up to, and including, civil war.

2. The Socialists and the Social-Democrats of the Second International adopt the point of view of the petty-bourgeois democrats, sharing their prejudices, and thinking with them that the fundamental problems of the class war can be solved by means of the vote.

3. Participation in the parliamentary struggles under the capitalist régime is incumbent upon the revolutionary proletarian parties for the purpose of propaganda among the masses, for which the electoral periods and the parliamentary debates furnish opportunities. But to limit the war of the classes to parliamentary action, or to consider this latter a superior form of the class-war to which all others must be subordinated, is, in practice, to take the part of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

4. The accusation of siding with the bourgeoisie can, indeed, be levelled at all the representatives and defenders of the Second International, and all the leaders of the German Social-Democrats, called "Independents," who, while proclaiming adhesion to the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, in deeds propagate the belief in the necessity of gaining, under the capitalist régime, the formal consent of the majority of the population (that is, a majority of votes in a bourgeois parliament) before political power can be transferred to the proletariat.

The jeremiads delivered by the leaders of the German "Independent" Social-Democrats and the other leaders of antiquated Socialism against the "dictatorship of the minority" proves simply that they have never recognised that a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails even in the most democratic of republics, nor the conditions necessary for the destruction of that dictatorship by the class war of the proletariat.

5. This lack of comprehension manifests itself above all in their ignorance of the fact that the bourgeois parties owe their domination, to a large extent, to their ability to deceive the masses, thanks to capitalist oppression. The masses, in fact, willingly dupe themselves with reference to capitalism—a fact particularly noticeable among the petty-bourgeois parties, who habitually wish to replace the class war by class peace.

"The party of the proletariat cannot seize power under a system of private property, that is, under capitalist oppression, until the majority of the population gives its consent"—so say the petty-bourgeois democrats, who call themselves Socialists, but who in reality support the bourgeoisie.

"Let the revolutionary proletariat first overthrow the bourgeoisie, throw off the yoke of capitalism, destroy the machinery of bourgeois government, and then it will be in a position to gain the support of the non-proletarian working masses by satisfying their needs at the expense of the exploiters"—so we say. The contrary would be a rare historical exception, and even in that case the bourgeoisie would resort to civil war, as the example of Finland proves.

6. Or, again,

"Let us first proclaim the necessity of recognising the principles of equality—or that of consistent democracy—by considering private property and the yoke of capitalism (that is, equality in form, and equality in reality); then on this basis let us strive to gain the suffrages of the majority"—so say the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois democrats, who call themselves Socialists and Social-Democrats.

"The class war of the proletariat first destroys, by the conquest of political power, the bases of actual inequality and of consistent democracy; then the proletariat, having vanquished the exploiters, leads the working masses on to the *abolition of classes*, which is the sole form of Socialist equality"—so say we.

7. In every capitalist country is to be found side by side with the proletariat, or rather, that portion of the proletariat that is conscious of its revolutionary aims and is capable of fighting on their behalf, large masses of unenlightened proletarians,

semi-proletarians, and semi-petty-bourgeois who follow the lead of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats (especially the "Socialists" of the Second International); deceived by the bourgeoisie, sceptical of their own strength and of the strength of the proletariat, they are not aware that it is possible to satisfy their own essential needs by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

These sections of the working masses furnish allies for the vanguard of the proletariat; but the proletariat can only conquer these allies by the exercise of political power, that is, after it has overthrown the bourgeoisie and destroyed its machinery of government.

8. In every capitalist country the strength of the proletariat is incomparably greater than its numerical strength with reference to the whole population. The proletariat economically dominates the nervous centres of the whole capitalist economic system. Economically and politically, it represents the true interests of the vast majority of the workers.

It is because of this that the proletariat, even when it is only a minority of the population (or even when the enlightened vanguard of the proletariat only constitutes a minority of the population) is able to overthrow the bourgeoisie and attract to its side numerous allies from the semi-proletariat and the semi-petty-bourgeoisie, who would never declare themselves for the dictatorship of the proletariat (the conditions and objects of which they are unable to understand), unless they could convince themselves by their own experience of the inevitability, the legitimacy and the rectitude of the proletarian dictatorship.

9. Finally, there exist in every capitalist country large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie that vacillate between capital and labour. In order to conquer these the proletariat must carefully choose his moment of attack against the bourgeoisie when the dissension between the latter and the petty-bourgeoisie are great, or when the agreement between them is unstable. After its victory, the proletariat must study the hesitation of the petty-bourgeois in order to neutralise and prevent them ranging themselves on the side of the exploiters.

A perpetual, obstinate, and pitiless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and all bourgeois influences and tendencies, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat struggles within the framework of the capitalist system, is the necessary condition and preparation for final victory.

"Without this struggle, and without having first achieved a complete victory over the opportunist tendencies in the working-class movement, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible. Bolshevism would not have been triumphant in 1917-1919 if it had not during 1903-1917 defeated and mercilessly expelled from the proletarian vanguard the Menshéviki—that is, the opportunists, reformists and social-chauvinists.

We see the most dangerous form of self-deceit—or deceit of the workers—in the attitude of the German Independents and the French Longuetists, who, verbally, accept the dictatorship of the proletariat, but who, in deed, continue their habitual policy of small or large concessions to opportunism, of conciliation, and servile respect for democratic bourgeois prejudices (so-called "consistent" or "pure" democracy), bourgeois parliamentarism, etc.

N. LENIN.

December 16th, 1919.

BRANCH CIRCULAR No. 5.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

(British Section of the Third International.)

WORK THROUGH INDUSTRIAL AND NON-PARTY MASS ORGANISATIONS OF OUR CLASS.

1. Branches should make the closest distinction between work through the *non-Party organisations of the Proletariat* and through *the Party organisations*.

2. To the non-party mass organisations of our class belong the Trade Unions, Stop Stewards and Workers' Committees, National and International Unions of Ex-Servicemen, groups of unemployed workers and ex-servicemen, Co-operative Societies and Guilds. etc.

The Communists should exert every possible influence through all such organisations, and, in general, everywhere with workers at the point of production.

3. To the Party organisations belong national and local Labour Parties, etc. The Communist Party offers direct and unceasing opposition to all such political party organisations, though they are professedly Labour. The Communist Party is opposed to all other political parties, whether bourgeois or pseudo-proletarian parties.

4. Party members will accept delegation from branches of their industrial organisations to all such bodies as Trade Union Congresses, Trade Union Executives, Trades and Labour Councils, or similar bodies, where such acceptance of delegation does not necessitate denial of their Communist principles. Where industrial branches, through their special instructions issued to their delegates, necessitate denial of Communist principles, such positions of delegation must be refused, and Communist propaganda carried further until the branch in question realises the class position so as to accept the Communist standpoint.

5. Every branch of the Party shall make a list of all Trade Union, Co-operative, Ex-Servicemen's, and other non-party organisation branches, in its area, and send a suitable letter (which will be supplied by headquarters ready for dispatch), offering to send a Party speaker to address the branch on the principles of Communism and their application in respect of Trades Unionism (or the Co-operative Movement, etc., as the case may be), and the part Trades Unions (or Co-operatives, etc.) will play in the Communist State. Address of fifteen minutes to be followed by discussion. Headquarters will not supply speakers for such purposes. Local branches should develop suitable and efficient Communist speakers for such work.

6. In every case where Trades Union branches or Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees are concerned, such Party speakers must be Trades Unionists themselves.

7. In speaking at such a branch, the aim of the speaker will be—

To attract the most class-conscious members of the audience to membership of the Party;

To expose the weakness of the present Trades Union organisations as weapons to secure economic emancipation for our class;

To draw a sharp distinction between palliative action to secure wage increases or hours reduction, and action to secure complete economic emancipation.

To explain the meaning of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the necessity of force to secure and maintain it;

To dwell on the development of the Class Struggle through successive strikes, and mass demonstartions, leading to the revolutionary crisis.

To preach the Class War.

8. In making lists of Trades Union branches, etc., in the neighbourhood, the local Trades and Labour Council often has such lists. Headquarters will give as much assistance as possible in this work.

9. In addressing such branches, an effort should be made to get some branch member to undertake the sale of the Party organ, "The Workers' Dreadnought," and act the part of Literature Secretary for the branch for Communist propaganda.

10. All Party members whose occupation permits it, are to take a full and active part in building up Shop Steward and Workers' Committee movements, and in all rank and file movements which weaken the power of officials, and lead to rank and file control, mass action, and the development of the class struggle.

11. Co-operatives must on no account be neglected, as they are the distributors of the working class, just as Trades Unionists represent, in the main, the producers. In times of crisis the Co-operatives will have a special function in the rationing of foodstuffs for the class organisation.

12. Party members should endeavour to capture the local Trades and Labour Councils in the interests of Communism. The Communist branch should not affiliate direct to such bodies, but all individual Communists should endeavour to secure position on such bodies through their industrial organisations, Co-operatives, etc.

When captured, as each Trades and Labour Council forms its own constitution, this constitution can then be modified in the Communist interest, and all political parties such as I.L.P. branches, and local Labour Parties, should be excluded from such Councils, transforming them into purely TRADES COUNCILS.

By introducing the principle of the RECALL OF DELEGATES into such Councils, their organisation then approaches closely to the INDUSTRIAL SOVIET, and such an organisation is able to play the part of a REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' COUNCIL. Such developments have in actual fact already taken place in certain districts.

13. Co-operatives and Ex-Servicemen's organisations, where proletarian, should have representation on such Councils.

14. All members of the Party exercising power and influence on the industrial field, should refrain from outdoor propaganda work and confine themselves to the industrial field.

15. The theory of organisation outlined above divides each branch of the Party into two main spheres of activity in accordance with Communist theory for proletarian domination. First, the industrial side, leading to the formation of Industrial Soviets and revolutionary Workers' Councils; secondly, the non-industrial side, working through open-air propaganda and house-to-house visits, concentrating on the formation of the HOUSEHOLD SOVIETS.

16. Members of both sides of the branch may combine in all work that does not bring the industrial key members into the light of open publicity.

On behalf of the Provisional Organising Council,

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,
Provisional Party Secretary.

FURTHER NOTES ON TACTICS.

At the recent Conference one of our leaders, who is anxious to pit his brains against the master class, grew very cheerful at the chance he might have of rising on the floor of the House of Commons and crying "You're a liar! You're a liar!! You're a liar!!!"

I think I shall turn Prohibitionist!

What would such "busts up" result in? First of all, they would lull into inactivity the rank and file. The pacifist Labour Party men, by such "busts up," led the rank and file during the war to feel "something was being done," and thus failed to use the more powerful weapon—industrial. Secondly, the effect on the non-class-conscious worker would be to antagonise him. If the Secular Society, in an endeavour to "show up" the Christians, were to "bust-up" services in churches, who would gain? The Churches.

Anybody who has taken an active part in parliamentary elections will know the great amount of routine work that must be done, for months beforehand, in preparation for an election. The same amount of routine work put to direct propaganda in the compound and trade union branches would accomplish infinitely greater results among the people we need.

The work now needed is not "national speaking," but hard graft in the branch office; not, mind you, branch meeting, but branch office. We must get away from the old ways of meeting once a week to consider how we can get Bill This and Jack That down to speak. We want a branch office, open every day, to work. What work? Well, here's a bit of spade-work, and when you have done that I can find you heaps more. Have you a list of men and women on whom you can depend in a crisis? If not, get to work and tabulate all you can find, putting them into lists of: Communists, active and passive, and non-Communists who would, in a crisis, probably come over, etc. Then take their addresses, place of work, and supply your propaganda committee with the list. That will only be a beginning.

This kind of work does not lead to heroes, "national speakers," leaders, clapping of hands, and the singing of "The Red Flag." It is not so easy for branch members, nor so pleasant for would-be "national speakers" and mouth-foamed merchants, but it leads to the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

A May Day procession, a dozen platforms, or a row in Parliament may make us *feel* revolutionary, but we want revolutionary ideas and revolutionary work; when we have won through we can give vent to revolutionary feelings.

H. M. EMERY.

ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS.

"Even in those ministries, which contain Socialist ministers, the whole apparatus of government remains antiquated and hinders all work. The whole history of bourgeois parliamentary, and in more significant measure of bourgeois constitutional countries, proves that a change of ministers means very little, as the actual work of government is in the hands of a gigantic army of bureaucrats. And this army is permeated through and through with an anti-democratic spirit, bound up by thousands and millions of threads with landowners and capitalists, and dependent upon them in all ways. This army is in an atmosphere of bourgeois relations and breathes this atmosphere; it has become rigid and has not the power to escape—it is unable to think, feel and act other than in the old manner. This bureaucratic army is enslaved by considerations of rank and precedence, of respect for the well-known privileges of "government" service. The upper layers of this army, by means of stocks and banks, are completely subservient to financial capital, and, moreover, themselves furnish to a certain extent agents and promoters of the interests and influence of financial capital.

"To attempt, by means of *this* government apparatus, to introduce such reorganisation as the abolition of private ownership of land, without re-purchase, or a State monopoly of bread, etc., is the greatest illusion, the greatest self-deception and deception of the masses. This apparatus can serve the republican bourgeoisie to create a republic in the sense of "a monarchy without a monarch," as the Third Republic of France; but it is absolutely unfit to introduce reforms, not to abolish, but simply seriously to repress and limit the rights of capital, the rights of "sacred private property."

"The inevitable outcome of 'coalition' ministries, therefore, participated in by Socialists, is that these Socialists, even under absolutely conscientious agreement of individual members of their class, become in fact empty ornaments or screens of the bourgeois government, buffers against the indignation of the masses against the government, instruments of deception of the masses. So it has been and so it will be as long as the bourgeois system remains and the old bureaucratic apparatus of government is preserved intact."—N. LENIN.

A SOCIAL PEST.

Of late
I mate
With crumbless poverty.
I am propertyless;
I own much less
Than my carcase self;
I have neither "power nor pelf"!—
I own naught!
And life for me is fraught
With scenes most colourless:—
Bed and graft, graft and bed;
Then, I'm fed
Now and again,
But when,
As now,
There is no graft to do,
I have to rue
My lot
Like many others do.
The dregs are ours unless we are bought,
Once again
To tug and strain
Our brawn and brain,
As the evil capitalistic brood
Ravenously drain
Away our sweat and blood.

C. B. WARWICK.

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PEACE RECEDING.

The communiqué from Lucerne states, that Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti, the Italian Prime Minister, are in complete agreement "as to the vital and paramount need for the re-establishment of peace throughout the world at the earliest possible moment." "Until peace is established between Russia and the rest of the world, an atmosphere of disturbances and unsettlement will continue to menace the world. For that reason the British and Italian Governments have been taking steps, in the face of much misrepresentation, to restore communication between Russia and the world outside."

They take exception to the Russian Government demands, in the peace terms, that the workers shall be armed, and "this so-called citizen army shall be drawn from one class only," which they consider a violation of the Polish democratic constitution. The communiqué says: "If the Soviet Government, notwithstanding the punishment which its agression is encountering, still refuses to withdraw this sinister proposal, but continues the war inside Polish territory, in order to force its acceptance on the Polish people, no free Government can either acknowledge or deal with the Soviet oligarchy."

The two first clauses in the Russian Peace Terms, approved by the British Government, are as follows:

1. The Polish Army to be reduced to one annual contingent of 50,000 men, with administration not exceeding 10,000; this reduction to take place within one month.

2. All arms beyond the equipment of this force and of the civil militia to be delivered to Soviet Russia and the Ukraine.

The terms now offered to Poland contain the following:—

"4. . . . These armed forces will be supplemented with a civic militia recruited from the workers, and destined to preserve order and the population's security. The conditions and order of organising this militia will be stipulated during the examination of the Treaty in detail."

That surely cannot be called a "breach of faith"; it is merely an elaboration of the original proposal.

Are we to make war on Russia upon such a flimsy pretext? Of course, when the original terms were approved of here, the Russians were gaining victory after victory in Poland, but now that the situation is reversed, so is the attitude of the Allies.

Councils of Inaction.

In the *Daily Herald's* Sunday edition there was a paragraph headed: "Save Terence McSwiney," but all that the workers were urged to do was to pass resolutions and flood 10, Downing Street, and the Foreign Office with their protests. The day of pressure by resolution is past. The day of direct action is present. Why did not the leaders, who talk so big, lead the vast crowd from Trafalgar Square to Brixton Prison and obtain his release? If he had remained in Ireland, the Government knew that his compatriots would not have let him die in prison, and so he was brought here, where he would be quite safe, despite the Councils of Inaction!

To stop the Irish war is as urgent as to stop the Russian war, and it is easier, because no allied governments are concerned. But it would mean direct action *now*, and that is what the Council of Action has no intention of taking. What are the rank and file workers going to do? Are they going to force their self-appointed leaders to call the general strike, or are they going to follow sleepily behind them? 'All power to the Workers!' is the cry, but unless the workers use the power they possess they can never gain control of anything.

A communiqué was issued on Tuesday by the British and Italian Governments: "Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti have made proposals to the French Government for Allied action, for the purpose of securing Poland her full rights under the Treaty of Versailles to the free use and service, without any restriction, of the port of Danzig and its communications, as provided for by the Treaty of Versailles."

This implies the threat of military measures to force the Danzig workers to handle munitions for Poland, which they are refusing to do. Danzig, by the Treaty of Versailles, was made a "Free City," and the Allied Powers have no authority over it. Any difference arising between the people of Danzig and Poland must be dealt with by the High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations. As the League of Nations is not in active being, there is evidently no High Commissioner; but that does not entitle the mighty Three to usurp his power.

KEEP THE LOCAL COUNCILS ALIVE.

It behoves all revolutionaries, especially those living in the great industrial areas, to keep the local Councils alive. Penetrate and permeate them with revolutionary ideas and endeavour to turn the apathy of the average worker into an awakened interest. The Central Council in London may quietly die of inaction and vacillation, but the local Councils, which almost spontaneously have sprung into being, should be fostered by all class-conscious workers. There are immediate dangers ahead with which the District Councils will have to deal, and their function will be of an administrative nature, and not the political protest for which they are now being cleverly manipulated.

In theory, the Government has not receded from its former position. Confronted by the demands of the ex-servicemen, general unemployment, threat of organised labour and other problems which cannot be dealt with by mere cleverness and cunning, the Government is still scheming to find some plausible pretext whereby it can dragoon the workers into another war. Perhaps the Government has come to the grim conclusion that the only way to solve the pressing economic problem is to get rid of the workers by warfare. It shows an unique vision if it has, for we workers must by now realise that there can be no room for all of us under this system, so long as we continue to toil to make profits for the rich.

On August 16th Mr. Bonar Law said that "this Government will not land this country in any war-

THE "POLE" BRIDGE.

DAVID. "What I said was 'we wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole.' I never said the 'Pole' might not get them here touch with it!"

By permission of the London "Evening News."

like operations unless on grounds so plain and obvious that the whole country will be behind us." Already the Labour Party has been forced to compromise on the vague question of Polish nationality. How many Labour leaders are conversant with the intricate features of an ethnographic modern Poland? Suppose the majority of the Polish workers desire to merge themselves with Soviet Russia: should the Russian workers be held responsible for the ancient division of Poland by the Russian Czar and the Austrian and German Emperors, in connivance with British Imperialism? The Government is skilfully manœuvring for the support of the Labour leaders, and we workers who are familiar with the notorious record of many of these creatures of opportunism during the late war, should be on the alert. The old Labour crowd has forged the weapons with which they will destroy themselves. Let the local Councils be vigilant. The Labour leaders should have given no tentative reply to Mr. Lloyd George's question about the independence of Poland. They should have flatly refused to countenance on any grounds any intervention on behalf of this creation of Allied Imperialism, after her aggressive militaristic venture against the Russian workers. The Allies are still keeping to the old policy that was formulated at the Paris Conference—which is to prevent the Soviets having any real understanding and communication with the workers of the Western world. This was the idea embodied in the War Minister's article that appeared in the *Evening News* of July 28th. The accompanying cartoon, "The Pole Bridge," was a brilliant illustration of the current Tory thought. There was an out-cry from the Liberal and Socialist Press against this apparently official pronouncement. On August the 2nd Mr. Lloyd George, in answering a critic of the article in the House, said: "I do not think it is so much of an expression of a policy as of a hankering. I really cannot control my colleagues' desires." He evaded the issue then, but on August 16th, after the Labour difficulties had been weathered, he states in the House that "the views which he [Mr. Churchill] had expressed in that article are the views which I expressed here on Tuesday last[August 10th]." This statement was an answer to Mr. Clynes, who said: "He might assure the Secretary for War that his act, more than the act of any single individual, had been the cause of bringing into being the Council of Action."

Mr. Clynes cannot forgive the Secretary for War for forcing him and his colleague, J. H. Thomas, to approve of Direct Action. The official Labour world and the "Daily Herald" have always been the apologists of the Prime Minister. They have always insisted that the Cabinet is divided in its foreign policy. Now Mr. Lloyd George unqualifiedly endorses a most amazingly militaristic statement made by the War Minister, and puts himself upon record as being jointly responsible for all the intrigues of Whitehall relative to the Russian Revolution. Why? For, as he said on August 10th, "The danger which is involved to the peace of Europe if you have an aggressive Soviet Empire co-terminous with Germany, is too great." Who ever heard tell of an aggressive Soviet Empire by the Russian revolutionaries? They never destroyed one Czardom to set up another in its place. But the die-hards of the vicious English system of world empire will use any loose and false phraseology to make a point. It is therefore ready to save Germany from Bolshevism, that German militarism is invoked by Mr. Churchill to aid Poland. And German militarism was what our ex-servicemen, thousands of whom are now jobless, fought to end. English Capitalism is trying to set on its legs again what thousands of our fellow workers blindly gave their lives to destroy.

The whole game has been played so brazenly that we marvel at the workers swallowing all the subtle untruths that the Government has put out about Germany. On August 10th the Prime Minister said, "If the Allies had united upon the extinction of German nationality, the wiping out of German national existence in the terms of the peace, the whole civilised world would have been outraged." But it is because the Allies have done just this thing that the German workers no longer pride themselves on their nationality. We have taken 2,000,000 tons of German shipping, and France is to get 2,000,000 tons of German coal every month. We have also deprived Germany of the best part of her rolling-stock and other productive material. The German workers are now in virtual slavery, and the German capitalists have become the paid overseers of Franco-British Capitalism. But as we have deprived the workers of the means of livelihood they have not the wherewithal to provide themselves with food and clothing to work for their masters.

Five Million Pounds for Germany.

Therefore the English workers are taxed, exploited to the tune of £5,000,000 to provide Germany with food to make profits for our masters. We have found the chains to enslave the German workers and ourselves. The national spirit is dead in Germany, and the English Government is fully aware of the fact. Germany is ready to throw up the sponge and become a Communist State, but the workers are held down by French bayonets. The military spirit that we fought to put down in Germany is dying, but the French and British imperialists are endeavouring to keep it alive. They are afraid that the German workers will scrap the old system of private ownership of property and working to make profits for a few, and institute the communal system that now exists in Russia. France is the little money shark of the capitalist world. The Czar had mortgaged the Russian workers to her for a number of years. The Russian revolution compelled her to forfeit the bond, hence the deadly hate of Bolshevism. She is afraid that what happened in Russia might also take place in Central Europe and Germany; therefore, protected by the British Navy, she maintains coloured conscript troops in Austria and Germany which we English workers must support by our toil, for France has not the industrial strength to enforce her imperialism. She cannot compete with the manufacturing output of England, America and Japan. She is a parasite of parasites, buying here and selling there; making frantic efforts to maintain her position like a bankrupt bourgeois. Let not the workers be misled. In her present plight France is bound hand and foot to England, and a powerful financial clique in this country backs up all her military ventures.

Let us realise that we have gained but a short respite. There can be no peace: we are merely drifting on to the rocks. With the miners voting for a strike, a new unrest among the railway workers, thousands of ex-servicemen and other workers without employment, the growing strength of the national movement and the increasing confusion in the system of international exchange, how dare we keep to a policy of "wait and see!" Little do we realise that the exploiting classes cannot find a way out of their difficulties. If we do not acquit ourselves as a class to destroy our forces of reaction, they will certainly destroy us.

E.L.

LYONS' EMPLOYEES ON STRIKE.

The many chair restaurants in the city where comparatively cheap food is sold, are chiefly patronised by the working-class. I have often thought if any of us who eat in these shops, and note how invariably polite, pleasant and neat the girls are, ever wonder by what economic means their high standard of respectability is maintained. The weekly wage of the waitresses and kitchen staff is 30s. From this amount the firm deducts for food 1s. 6d., insurance 5d., sporting club (which most of the girls never make use of) 3d., and their laundry, for cuffs, collars and aprons costs about 3s. These deductions bring the wage down to about 25s. The staff is provided with two legitimate meals daily. An idea of the amount for each person may be gained by this statement made by a waitress: "in one restaurant 3½ lbs. of meat is supplied for 22 girls and one

LONDON AND MOSCOW. By KARL RADEK.

At the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party a ghost appeared—Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the Second International, who declared that the Second International was about to remove its chattels to London. Why this removal?

From the Continent, one half of which is already in the flames of the proletarian revolution, whilst the other half is already feeling the quaking of the earth beneath the tread of the Labour battalions—from this Continent of the rising sun of the world-revolution, the Second International is obliged to flee. The Second International was founded with the object of furthering the cause of the revolution, but in the process of its development it has turned into an instrument of counter-revolution, and therefore it has become the mortal enemy of the Revolution now unfolding.

Workers Leaving Second International.

One workers' party after another is leaving the Second International. Of the continental parties, apart from a few would-be Cabinet Ministers of small States, such as Holland for instance, only the party of blood-stained Noske, the executioner of the German workers, is left. The old European Continent is lost for the Second International. For the bankrupts of this counter-revolutionary organisation there was nothing left but to turn their eyes upon the centre of capitalist counter-revolution. And just as all the Capitalist States of Europe, having lost their own strength, look to British and American capitalism for help, so does Huysmans attempt to save himself in the Noah's Ark of Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson. They see in England and America the centre of a healthy Labour movement. because there the majority of the workers are not conscious yet of their own power, and they trust the leaders who betray the working class, selling their bodies to the capitalist governments. The Huysmans hope to find a safe shelter in countries where Labour leaders like Henderson, or the old knave of Gompers, still have influence.

At the same time the bankrupt politicians of the Second International cast furtive looks at heroic Soviet Russia, at Petrograd, and Moscow, at the Congress of the Communist International. And no wonder. Whilst English capitalism is the prop of the counter-revolution of the world, the Russian proletariat represents the vanguard of the World Revolution, and Russia the spring of the future federation of European Soviet Republics, the main reservoir of human power in the fight against the capitalist counter-revolution.

Russia, the Teacher of the Proletariat.

History imposed upon the Russian proletariat the necessity of being the first to accomplish the proletarian revolution, and although it is younger and less experienced than the proletariat of other countries, nevertheless, because it was the first to hoist the banner of revolution, the first to carry it into effect, it had become the teacher of the proletariat of the world. It goes without saying that the word of the Russian proletariat is not the last word of the revolution, that the Russian proletariat will have much to learn from the proletariat of other countries, when the latter will have taken up the fight against their exploiters; for the present, however, it has said the first word from which the proletarians of other countries have to learn, and they hurry across land and sea to the Congress of the Communist International, and do not halt in the face of tremendous difficulties. Amongst the delegates of the Communist International there are comrades, who, upon their return from the First Congress, fell into the hands of the White Guards, were sentenced to death, but miraculously made good their escape. There are amongst them workers, who, though not yet Communists, have overcome unheard-of obstacles, in order to see with their own eyes how the Russian proletariat is fighting, in order to find out what the Communist International can teach them. We are opposing the Communist International to the Second International: the International of Action to the International of Phrases.

Every delegate to the Communist Congress can prove by the experience of his own life, that in the midst of the old world now going under in madness, a new working class is rising, new leaders are being born, who are ready at any moment to lay down their life in the cause of the workers.

Communist Influence Growing.

We are firmly convinced that in this fight, the call of the European proletariat will be answered also by those workers on whom the ghosts of the Second International, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, are pinning their faith. The English and American workers are taking their first step on the road to Revolution, and they, too, are already in the grip of a wide fermentation, and their distrust of their leaders is growing. Equally the influence exercised upon them by Communism is growing. At the same Scarborough Conference, which was addressed by Huysmans, the workers have declared for the unconditional liberation of India, Egypt and Ireland. What does this imply? It implies that the workers comprehend that the policy of oppression, pursued by the ruling classes of England in the colonies, is pregnant with the greatest misery for the English workers, that it is drawing them into a new war, and will yet increase the burden of taxation, and that it is driving to rebellion the peasants of the colonies, on which England is dependent for its raw material and cereals. However, for the English bourgeoisie to abandon the colonies would mean committing suicide, and it will never consent to such a course. The English workers will therefore be faced with the alternatives: either to rise against their bourgeoisie, so that in their struggle for liberation they may win the confidence of the peasants of the colonies, and in the future obtain from them all they need in a friendly way of proletarian intercourse; or the English workers may continue to serve the interests of their bourgeoisie, in which case they will become the "object" of the revolutionary policy of the world proletariat, the "object" of revolutionary policy of society in revolt. If as yet the majority of the English workers are still the flunkeys of their bourgeoisie, history, which has condemned the world-bourgeoisie to death, will compel them through war and famine to rise against their masters, and, for their own safety, to join the ranks of the militant revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Moscow and London are now two world poles, two emblems. The one is the emblem of the new world of Labour, born into the light of day in terrible pain, and the other is the emblem of the world of exploiters and capitalists, collapsing into the utter decay of rottenness and filth.

Poland or Moscow?

At the moment of the meeting of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the London of the exploiters is threatening the Moscow of the proletarians of the whole world with a new war. It wants to hold back the proletarian sword raised against perfidious White Poland. It tells the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia: "Do not dare to touch the Polish landlords and capitalists, because they are a part of our capitalist army." On its side, the Communist International of the proletarians will tell the Russian workers: "Do not waver in the fight against the enemy who has flung himself upon you with the help of world-capital, in order to interrupt your constructive work, to hinder the building up of a new free life; fight this enemy, and we proletarians of all countries will help you."

We are convinced that the help rendered by the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the Russian workers in their fight against White Poland, will prove more effective and mighty than the assistance which Lloyd George and Millerand may offer to White Poland, because the guns they may send to Poland are made by the workers, and the boats and trains which are to carry munitions are in the hands of the railwaymen and sailors, the exploited workers, our brothers and allies.

Moscow and London are now world poles, but the foundation of London is the very same labour which in Russia has freed itself, and in England it is striving too, with all its soul, to become free. The ground beneath the London of the capitalists is shaking, and therefore this London, the centre of the counter-revolution of the whole world, is going to be destroyed, in order to become the centre of the World Revolution.

LYONS' EMPLOYEES ON STRIKE.—*Continued.*

man. After the afternoon dinner, nothing else is served to the help—they may have a piece of bread—though some restaurants are opened until late in the evening, others close at six or seven. Any delicacy needed must be paid for separately, and it cannot be obtained without special permission from the manager."

Naturally the girls, after their evening work is done, must buy food with their own money, and they put their weekly wage at the figure of about 20s. There are tips, and these all go into a box, which is opened at the end of each month or fortnightly. The girls get each about 2s. 6d. at the highest; in some places it is as low as 7d.

Strict Discipline.

The discipline at Lyons' is extremely severe. To enter the service of these food magnates, employees must have three references, but they can obtain none on leaving. There are superintendents, manageresses, and visiting supervisors who plan how the girls should give increasingly efficient service. They have about two meetings weekly on the general conduct of the different staffs. They are paid from £3 upwards, and get 1s. per day bonus, and better food than the rank and file workers. The girls must always be very neat, their dresses are inspected, and they are often ordered to get new ones. The uniform costs 37s. 6d. They also wear a number provided by the Firm; this serves the purpose of reporting and recording. But the Firm has forbidden its employees to wear the button of the United Catering Trade Union, to which many of them belong. For wearing her button, Mrs. Sparkes, after 16 years' service, was dismissed. On the 17th the Union called its members out in a sympathetic strike, which Lyons and Co. are, by using every weapon in their armoury, trying to break. The girls have shown a fine fighting spirit. Many of their fellow workers have refused to come out with them, and a few, growing faint-hearted, have returned to work; but there are still hundreds of them out. They have marched through the city, held several meetings, and a demonstration at Trafalgar Square on Saturday afternoon. The firm has advertised in the Press for new hands at a minimum wage of 30s. per week. One of the employing cards, which has come under our notice, dated the 17th inst., from 10-11, Piccadilly Mansions. reads:—

"*The Bearer, Miss ——, to train as Steam Hand, rate 20s.*"

An old woman, after 17 years' service, has been dismissed for expressing sympathy for the strikers. It is hoped that the other Unions will come to the aid of these courageous girls. The A.E.U. and E.T.U. could bring pressure to bear on the Firm, and the United Vehicle Workers can easily bring Lyons to terms, by concentrating on their depôt at Cadby Hall, Hammersmith, the centre of the firm's activities, where all the food is cooked and sent out to the various shops. The officials of the United Catering Union have asked the help of the Vehicle Workers' officials, but nearly a week has passed and they have not replied. Is solidarity only real on paper and on platforms? Are the little fishes of no account to the big ones? Organised Labour in London can easily win this strike for the girls.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSEKEEPING.—*Conclusion.*

a moment, smiling, and shaking her head at me. 'Now mind, I'm not coming in to tea!'

"I was so much astonished, I just sat and looked at her; then I called: 'Ethel, Ethel!' but she'd gone scampering downstairs.

"Another hour's crying and nonsense from Rene and Laura was too much for me, and I thought, after all, it was only sending them to school a few years earlier, and they'd soon get tired of it, anyway. So I washed their faces and brushed their hair, and let them run into the nursery school with a message: 'Mother says we can come now.'

"After that, I felt very uncomfortable—every one else was working, and I had nothing to do. The children didn't like coming home to meals, they kept running off to have their's with the other chidren; the cleaners came in every morning. I was still getting an allowance as a working housekeeper, but I felt I was getting it under false pretences, and I wondered whether it wouldn't be stopped on that ground.

"One day, when a member of the House Committee came to ask why I didn't put out my basket of things for the mendery. I said that I'd done all my mending, but I'd help to mend some one else's things in the mendery, if they'd have me to work there. She said Yes! they'd be glad to have me; but perhaps I'd like to see some of the other neighbouring workshops too; she offered to take me that afternoon, if I'd like to go, and I agreed.

"When we got to the mendery, I felt ashamed of what I'd been calling mending, for the menders there were making the things look as good as new. Much of the work was done by machinery. I saw that it was a new trade that I'd have to learn. It was the same in the kitchen and the laundry; it was all run by experts, and I realised that I had not learnt to do anything properly. I told my guide how I felt.

"'Every one feels like that at first,' she said, 'but you'll soon learn.'

"After we had seen the domestic workshops serving our house and others near it, we went to see boot and clothing factories, a book bindery and finally a pottery.

"The pottery fascinated me, and when we came to the china-painting room, I said: 'If only I could learn that! I've been wanting to work at something like that all my life.'

"'But why not?' said my guide. 'You can begin learning the trade to-morrow.'

"And so I did. I got myself engaged the same afternoon.

"That evening, I threw all my reserves away. I went with my children to supper in the Household Common Room, played tennis with some of the other inmates, and finished up with a dance on the roof.

"Since then, I have tried to be a Communist and to help the Communists in every way that I can. I am so fortunate in my work; I do enjoy it! I like the Communist life in every way, and I'm anxious to see it made more complete. I hope it will soon spread all over the world.

"There are the children! Let us go to meet them."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

REACTION IN ARGENTINE.

By TOM BARKER.

According to communications just received from Buenos Aires, the Argentine ruling class are having another periodical attack of blue funk. In the good old style, they seize all union officials upon whom they can lay hands, gaol them, and then seal up the union offices. Working-class papers are suppressed, and the editors thrown into gaol. During the Terror of 1919, the editors of "Bandera Roja" ("The Red Flag"), fellow-workers Biondi Rosales and García Thomas, were tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, and their valiant daily suppressed.

The Court sentenced these men to do their sentences in the National Penitentiary in Buenos Aires, but a couple of days before May Day of this year, these men were taken from this Penitentiary, with a large escort of mounted police, to a warship lying in the port, and were sent down to the villainous penal establishment at Ushuaia, in Tierra del Fuego. This place is as cold as the worst of the Siberian gaols, as it is situated in the grip of the Antarctic Sea, not far from Cape Horn. Very few prisoners ever return from the Fire Island gaol. As a protest against the unjustifiable removal of Rosales and Thomas, the whole of the prisoners in the National Penitentiary in Buenos Aires declared a hunger strike.

The Federación Obrera Marítima (Argentine Seamen's Union) is losing the strike against the powerful Mihanovich Company, which has been on since the middle of February. There are indications that F.O.M. will secede from the master-class Federation affiliated to the Tenth (Decimo) Congress. Maybe, they will be independent for a little while, but indications show that they will ultimately line up with the F.O.R.A. of the Fifth (Quinto and Comunista) Congress.

A big effort is now being made by the Port Workers' Federation to bring the Defensa section into the Federation, and to put an end to the squabbles that have been for several years the drawback to efficiency in organisation. The tie-up of the Dutch ships during the strike in February were lost, largely through the scabbing of the Defensa's "sociedad patronal." The Congress was to eventuate during this August, and we sincerely hope that the Federación Portuaria will have full and complete control in Buenos Aires, as it has in Rosario, Santa Fé, Ensenada and Bahia Blanca.

Fellow-worker Del Vecchio is now secretary of the Marine Transport Workers in Buenos Aires, fellow-worker Olsson staying on as delegate. Louis Winchester is now in Moscow at the Third International Congress, representing the F.O.R.A., and Oscar Johansson is on his way to Antwerp. The M.T.W. reports that the Chilean I.W.W. has now over 28,000 members and controls all the ports in Chile, from Antofagasta and Iqueque down to Lebú and Coronel, as well as possessing a big following in the Navy.

During May, the Federal police arrested fellow-workers Pacheco, Barrera, and Eva Vivé, and closed down the two working-class dailies, "La Protesta" and "Tribuna Proletaria." The first-named came out two days later under the name of "La Bandera del Pueblo" ("The People's Flag"). That also was suppressed; but, not to be outdone, it reappeared again under the name of "La Batalla" ("The Battle.") That was also closed. Then out came "La Plebe," and she lasted four days and was stopped. A few days' time will see the arrival of "El Frente Unico." Thus you see that the gladiators of Argentine Labour have got to fight, and fight hard, in the struggle against an uncompromising and determined enemy. Eva Vivé has been barbarously treated since her incarceration by the hellish accomplices of the Irigoyen administration. She is a magnificent woman, and is the equivalent of Rosa Luxemburg in the Latin Republic.

Fellow-worker Barrera is the working-class hero who, during the latter part of 1918, journeyed, in an open boat, round Cape Horn to the vicinity of the penal establishments of Ushuaia, for the purpose of rescuing Comrade Radowisky from that hellish place. Radowisky was serving a life sentence for killing Colonel Falcón, the Chief of Police of Buenos Aires, and the latter's secretary, during the course of a big strike some years ago. Barrera was enabled after a long sojourn in the neighbourhood, to get into touch with his comrade. They eventually got away, and made for the Chilian border, being pursued for four days by Argentine prison officials. Some days later they were arrested on the Chilean part of the island by Carabineros, and, after a good deal of discussion, they were handed back to the Argentine authorities. Radowisky was sent back to Ushuaia for coercive treatment, and Barrera, after being in custody for many months awaiting trial, was discharged by the Judge, and returned to Buenos Aires, where he became editor of "Tribuna Proletaria." As a result of Radowisky being handed over by the Chilians to the Argentine, the Chilian Embassy in Buenos Aires was assaulted by large bands of workers, and smashed up.

The repressive tactics of the Argentine White Guards is only an indication that the efforts of the Communist Federation are taking on the aspect of success, and soon the workers will be triumphant over the gaolers of Barrera, Pacheco, Thomas, Rosales and Eva Vivé.

WHY THE HUNGARIAN BOYCOTT FAILED.

Le Populaire, of August 15th, has published correspondence from Vienna, which announces the lamentable ending to the boycott of Hungary, which was raised just as the trial of the Hungarian People's Commissaries is taking place.

The Amsterdam Bureau of the Trades Union International had, as we know, ordered the boycott. It was incapable of making it effective. It was forced to raise it.

According to this correspondence, the failure of the boycott was due to two causes:—

First, the workers of the West were not unanimous in carrying out the boycott. Secondly, a portion of the workers of Central Europe were not able to do it. We will add a third—not the least important—the failure of the Amsterdam International to obtain solidarity.

The Terror Which Rages in Hungary.

It was July 21st, 1919, don't forget it, when the terror which rages in Hungary could have been fought against. Holding back then means powerlessness now; that is logical.

Three Western countries had an important rôle to play in the boycott: Italy, England and Germany. The workers of Italy alone did their duty, especially the workers of Trieste. But the English and German workers, as Forstner (the most excellent organiser of the boycott and secretary of the Austrian transport workers), has just stated to the Council of the Austrian workers, did not carry out the boycott completely enough. The Danube could only be closed at Passau during the last few days. The railway stations on the Austrian frontier were blocked with wagons of coal, consigned to Hungary.

The Admirable Austrian Effort.

With regard to the workers of the States bordering on Hungary, the Austrian workers behaved splendidly. The Austrian workers, gnawed by famine, endured the lack of vegetables from Hungary, and their international duty exceeded their material interests of the moment. If the boycott had only depended upon Austria, its success would have been assured. Some of the clerical employees wanted to sabotage the boycott: their attempt failed because of the resistance of the Austrian workers.

Unfortunately it was not so in Czecho-Slovakia, especially in that part of the Republic bordering upon Hungary. Slovakia telegraphic communication with Vienna was stopped; it continued with Slovakia. It is true, it was specially due to the French officers enrolled in the Czecho-Slovak army, who stopped at nothing to thwart the boycott.

Pit props and salt, two articles the lack of which would have paralysed the whole of the economic life of Hungary, arrived in great quantities from Slovakia. The chief cause of this attitude of Slovakia was the bad organisation of the workers in this district. The 50 or 60 thousand organised workers in this small province belong to four kinds of Unions; they are sectional from national and other reasons, which makes all concerted action impossible.

The Jugo-Slav and Roumanian workers were not able to take an active part in the boycott, because they are under martial law. This was unimportant as regards Roumania, but it had dire consequences in Jugo-Slavia. The Jugo-Slav proletariat wanted to declare the boycott, but owing to the agreement existing between the Hungarian and Jugo-Slav authorities, flour, which was put on the train at Trieste for Vienna, and which had to go through Jugo-Slavia, was sent to Budapest, because the Trieste workers had refused all consignments to Budapest.

Hungarian Anger.

Hungary turned its anger first of all against Austria, the only country which had carried out the boycott completely. The counter-boycott was only declared against Austria, and the issue of passports was only restricted for journeys to Austria.

What is the moral to be drawn from this failure? In the West the boycott cannot succeed because of the lack of propaganda. The Minister Benès declared the other day to the Czech Foreign Office Commission, that in France many people thought that Czecho-Slovakia was in Hungary, an observation which he must have made when talking to politicians. How many of the workers amongst the Western proletariat have no conception of the reality of the Hungarian White Terror and of the international importance of the Hungarian reaction?—"La Vie Ouvrière," August 20th.

The Russian Soviet Government has intimated to the Hungarian Foreign Office that it will hold the ten Hungarian officers still in Russia, as hostages for the ten People's Commissaries, who are being tried at Budapest. They will suffer the same fate as that meted out to the Commissaries.

GORKI REPLIES TO "THE TIMES."

The *Communist International*, No. 12, publishes a letter from Maxim Gorki to H. G. Wells, as follows:—

"On April 26th the *Times* published the experiences of an Englishman recently returned from Russia. Among other things, he relates that human fingers were swimming in the broth served in one of the communal kitchens of Petrograd. If this ghastly absurdity had been published in some obscure rag, whose object is to appeal to all the worst instincts of the masses, I should not have paid any attention to the ravings of an embittered and certainly far from clever person, but as the *Times* saw fit to publish the story, I wish to inform you that the story is false.

"Believe me, dear Wells, we Russians have not yet reached the stage of cannibalism, and it is my belief we shall not reach it, despite the endeavours of the highly civilised Western Powers to bring about conditions which would force the Russians to savagery and degeneration.

"We are living in times when even the most perverted and wicked imagination could not manufacture a lie or a calumny which could be more awful and more degrading than the actual truth. One of these revolting truths is the hunting down of Russia—a country which is putting the whole of its creative power into a social experiment of the greatest significance and importance to humanity at large.

"We Russians should have been left either to our own wisdom or to our own folly. In either case we would have provided Europe with an instructive spectacle. However, Europe, as represented by Great Britain and France, is endeavouring to strangle us. I do not think that Europe will succeed in this, but it is just possible that her policy towards Russia will drive the Russians in the direction of Asia. Do you not foresee in this possible union with the Asiatic nationalities a terrible threat to the culture of Europe? As far as I am concerned, this question obsesses me like a nightmare.

"Allow me in conclusion to say a few words about Lenin. It has been asserted in the *Times* that this man surrounds himself with Asiatic, semi-barbaric splendour. This is a shameful fabrication. Lenin is devoid of any love of power. He is a puritan by nature and lives as simply and unpretentiously in the Kremlin as he did while an *emigré* in Paris. He is a big man and an honest man. His rôle in Russia is that of a colossal plough, which is indefatigably turning up a clogged and barren soil.

"Believe me, I do not shut my eyes to the negative manifestations produced by the war and the revolution, but at the same time I cannot help seeing within the Russian nation the birth of creative will-power, which, step by step, transforms our people into an active, civilising power. And to me the actual is the beginning of all beginnings, as at the beginning there was action.

"With best wishes, dear Wells,

"I remain, yours etc.,

"M. GORKI."

[People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.]

IN THE LIBERATED POLISH TERRITORY.

Berlin, August 17th.—Everywhere in the Polish regions occupied by the Red Army, it appears that it is only the fear of the Polish "Schachta" that compels the Polish workers to fight against Soviet Russia. Thus in the Smolensk territory, after a meeting in which 1,200 Polish prisoners of war took part, almost the whole of them joined the Bolshevik army. At military-revolutionary Councils, formed in many provinces, which had passed under the Russian administration, they swore to obey at once every order of the new Polish Workers' and Peasants' Soviet. At Minsk, many hundreds of men asked to be sent immediately to the front; and they came every day into the towns where the Bolsheviki were in possession. The Polish proletariat recognised the Russians as their friends and saviours, and the Polish aristocracy as their mortal enemies.

The Russians captured enormous quantities of raw material and machinery. The provision of raw material for the production of sugar, seized in Vilna alone, was enough to provide work for six months in the local factories. At Bielostock, and in the industrial regions, the Polish troops, before abandoning them, sabotaged some of the machinery in the factories, the locomotives, etc. They hid some of them, but the Red Army succeeded in discovering the latter and taking possession of them.—*Avanti.*

LUXURY FOR THE WORKERS.

In a letter from Russia, G. M. Serrati, the editor of the Italian Socialist paper, *Avanti*, describes the villas in Petrograd, on an island in the River Neva, where the workers go when they need rest and change of air. They used to be the pleasure resorts of the dissolute aristocracy and capitalists. They are surrounded with beautiful lawns, terraces and conservatories, and are sumptuously decorated and furnished. In the entrance hall of one of them are magnificent tapestries, valued at 8,000,000 francs. The men and women rest amidst the most splendid luxury, though formerly they lived as beasts of burden in the factories. They come in turns, as arranged by the Organisation Committee, and they have about a month's holiday. They take the greatest care of this property, which has now become collective. "Everywhere we went there was the greatest cleanliness, order and peace. All of them in their own rooms, or in the common rooms, dressed in their working clothes, men and women, lived serenely in these halls, on the divans, with the splendid pictures, mirrors, objects of art and luxury, as if they had always lived with them. I asked an old tobacco worker who had worked at the factory for forty years, "How did you become accustomed to this life?" "Ah, comrade," she replied, "when you are comfortable, you soon get accustomed to it!"

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

The Doctrine of Capitalist Force versus Workmen's Safety.

For some time past there has been a general dissatisfaction among the men at Risca Collieries. This has been due to the accumulations of gas and a claim which was instituted for wages. It was agreed that an examination should be made by Mr. D. Edwards, the workmen's examiner for the East Glamorgan district, but on presenting himself for the purpose, he was not allowed to act.

Again at the Bedwas Collieries, where a dispute has been in existence over the question of root control, the management is fighting the men on the question of safety, i.e., the right of the workmen to determine what are safe conditions for them to work under. For twelve months this dispute has been going on, but we are no nearer a settlement. Caught between the capitalist boss and the comparative indifference of the Executive Council, the workers invariably get the worst of it. It has almost become impossible for any E.C. to take effective action, because of the obsolete machinery of the Conciliation and Disputes Boards: they play the game for the boss, for an unnecessary amount of delay attaches to the setting of the machinery in motion.

A most hopeful sign of the times is the good result of the Rhondda miners' ballot—to take stop-days when summonses are issued against the men for stoppages. This is a spirit of revolt which must be fostered. At the Tredegar Collieries the summonses were answered by brass bands and processions, and the Court was held up to ridicule. Hail the day when the class-conscious working men will not only ridicule the parasites, but will sweep them out of existence!

During next month the South Wales Miners' Conference will be held, and resolutions will be voted upon to change some of the obsolete rules. It is time the unofficial elements were meeting to formulate a uniform policy for the Conference, if the forces of reaction are to be offset. All over the coal-fields, old and young men are eager to listen to our case, and at each meeting our point of view is acclaimed.

THE MINERS' DEMANDS.

By J. T. WATKINS.

The present policy of the Miners' Federation, while exceedingly clever, shows a lack of knowledge of the essential facts or else these facts have been left out of account. Obsessed as they are with Nationalisation as a means for remedying all the ills of the mining population, and in the hope of justifying all the hot air and money wasted on propaganda, their mentality is blurred to what are the only sound grounds for waging this fight.

The history of the M.F.G.B., like every other Trade Union, is one of compromise; its very composition is its weakness, or, to put it paradoxically: its greatness is its weakness.

It is composed of various coalfields, from Scotland to Kent and South Wales, with outlooks and interests as diverse as the poles, and a fundamental difference in the cost of living. The only essential points on which unity has been made possible are: avoidable danger in the mining industry, and the need of united action on matters relating thereto. This arises as a direct result from the capture of the Parliamentary machine by the capitalists, and the logic of the machine, namely, industrial growth and expansion, which makes possible the concentration of huge masses of workers, in very limited areas, and produces an atmosphere, or a sub-conscious feeling, that strength can only be gained by linking up with workers in kindred industries. From this springs a class-consciousness, and our very weakness becomes our strength.

Necessary points of difference to be dealt with in this article are those connected with the wage demand, and are as follows:—

Durham Coalfield: Here we find that house coal is part of the miner's wages, and on the surface he does not appear to pay for it. His rent is at a very low rate, never more than 4s. 6d. per week, the houses being owned by the colliery proprietors. What is true of Durham applies to most parts of Yorkshire and Northumberland.

In Lancashire, we find that both the husband and wife are often wage-earners (no, wage-slaves, I mean), the women folk working in the textile trade, and this contributes toward the upkeep of the home. What is true of Lancashire is also true of the Bristol Coalfield, with this addition: that, being in close proximity to the agricultural areas, food-stuffs are cheaper.

In the Forest of Dean we find a semi-industrial and agricultural area with large tracts of common land; this is also the case in the extreme west of the South Wales Coalfield, namely Pembrokeshire; this accounts for the varying wage rates.

In South Wales and Monmouthshire, we find that rents are higher than in almost any other part of the coalfields in the British Isles; we have to pay a varying sum for house coal, which makes a fundamental difference in the cost of living. This difference explains the various minimum wage awards under the Act of 1912. In addition to the difference in the cost of living, during the war the tendency was to unify demands, which tended to accentuate the difference in the real wages (purchasing power) of those whose cost of living was lower, and makes it possible for them to exist on a lower wage than in those coalfields where the cost of living is higher. This fact has never been taken into account by our E.C. bosses, and they continue to maintain this difference in our present wage demands. By these very differences we see how easy it is for the capitalist boss to play the game of divide and conquer. First, our M.F.G.B. E.C., obsessed with the nationalisation stunt, makes a two-fold demand. Second, its dual method of thinking, as shown in this cry of reducing the price of domestic coal by 14s.2d.; dual, because it tries to separate the worker, as a worker, from himself as a consumer. Thirdly, the miners in one coalfield are prepared to accept less, because of the difference in the cost of living. This was clearly manifested in our last ballot over the wages question.

If on this twofold demand, the Government, should it choose, offers the miners the 2s. increase, it will then be able to play off the (so-called) public against us, on the false supposition that we are again trying to send up the cost of living. Then the Capitalist Press will pile on the agony. Point number one for the master class.

The miner will say: "What care I for the price of domestic coal for this so-called public? I'll have the 2s. and damn the public," which will cause an effective split in the rank and file. Point number two for the master class.

Should they decide to take off the 14s. 2d. on the domestic coal price, it would have the following effect: it will rob our E.C. of its big stunt, as it will give a momentary reduction in the cost of living to the domestic consumer, and create a division on this score. The miner will be bound to fight. With our E.C.'s big prop taken from under it, a division will begin to appear in the E.C. itself; thus again playing the game for the master class. Secondly, this dual method of thinking is purely capitalistic in character. Who is this so-called public? Who is the consumer? Is it not the working man and his family? The workers are the great mass of the consuming community, and they act always along the lines that their self-centred interest dictates. This is a fundamental fact, namely: "The organising of the home comforts in the most homely way." You can no more separate them as workers and consumers, than you can separate their wages from their food bills. In a word: in their separation they are united, and in that unification lies the impetus for action, when the contradiction between their wages and their pantry is so glaring, that no matter how ignorant they may appear, they must act to maintain life itself. This cry of public opinion is a false one, and is nothing more nor less than the cry of the Tory Press. Thus we see how once more they play the game of the master class, by considering as a factor a non-existent matter. Clearly then, our friends are our most dangerous foes. Thirdly, owing to the varied wage rates and the difference in the cost of living, whatever offer were made, compromise must follow as a sequence. No organisation can hope to carry to a successful issue on a divided plank a policy so involved as this one now before us as miners. Unity cannot be got along the lines suggested by the E.C. of the M.F.G.B. This endeavour to unite divided forces, without a concrete basis, is a waste of time and money, and is like chasing a "will o' the wisp," in the pretence that they are making these demands to absorb all the profits in the industry, and are trying to share the spoils between us as miners and the domestic coal consumers.

To decrease the price of domestic coal is to fight for a rise in the wages of other trade unionists, and so save their official oligarchy the trouble of going in for a further increase in wages; and some of them pose as the saviours of mankind, by flouting our action for striking, when production is so necessary for national security! Never in the history of the working-class movement have we presented demands so full of possibilities of defeat. If we win, it will be by accident, not by design; the tactics are the last word in compromise, and it will only be the utter ignorance of the Government and its blunderings that will save a débâcle.

Miners, the time is approaching when we shall have to take drastic measures to ensure our policy being framed by the rank and file; for the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, with all its vaunted greatness, has failed to maintain the fodder standard of 1914; compared with other organisations it is far behind on this question. Our policy should be a self-determining one. Seeing that the cost of living varies, whatever Scotland needs, the rest of the coalfield should fight for. What South Wales needs, each part of the organisation should struggle to get for itself. Thus would our weakness become our strength, and class-consciousness be engendered. Without this basis, division and compromise is inevitable, and Capitalism is ensured a long lease of life.

Fellow working miners, do not let us be carried away by names; do not let us be misled by nice phrases, because, while the master class holds power, the fight must be carried on without compromise, or toadying, having as a battle-cry: "All power to the working class and complete control of the industries by the workers themselves."

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SHOP-STEWARDS

A MASS MEETING

of all Stewards and those interested will be held on SATURDAY, AUG. 28th, 1920, at 3 p.m., in the Labour Exchange, Tavistock Street, Strand.

Secretary: TOM WALSH.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

"I have been talking to old Pollard, you know," said the Soglashatelist, coming up to me the other day after tea.

"Yes?"

"Yes, and from what he says I understand he's going to start a new paper."

"Usual kind?"

"Well, not exactly. It's for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Third International, you see."

"I don't see. If I may make a suggestion——"

"You needn't. I know all about that paper you write for. Of course you *would* speak up for it."

"Naturally," I said. "I write for it."

"Well, of course, Pollard says the *Dreadnought* is all right in its way, but——"

"Ah, I see there's a 'but.'"

"Of course you understand Pollard believes in the same things as what your paper does, only he doesn't agree about something or other, I forget exactly what, but there you are."

"Why doesn't he write up to the *Dreadnought* about it then?"

"You better ask him. What I wanted to talk to you about was the article I'm going to write for Pollard's new paper."

"What are you going to write about? The materialist conception of the dictatorship of the means of production and exchange?"

"Don't be sarky. I was thinking it would be fine to put in a few words about the tactics of the revolution."

"Good idea," I enthused. "Are you in favour of violence?"

"I believe, of course, that the proletariat should seize the means of production and exchange and use them to bend society to its will."

"Who is society?"

"Those against the revolution, of course."

"How do you mean to bend them?"

"By exerting economic pressure. But you know all about it, don't you?"

"Me?"

"Yes, you. I heard you are bringing out a pamphlet on *The Revolution To-morrow*. I don't see how you can write a pamphlet like that without taking into account the dictatorship."

"Oh, you'll know all about it when you see my pamphlet."

"That's as may be. I see you're a close 'un. However, about that article of mine. If you like, I'll read out a few extracts. You see, I've written it on foolscap, on one side of the paper only."

"I didn't know it was necessary to use foolscap, but go on."

"All literary men use foolscap, you know. You needn't try to get me by kidding to be innocent. I have put the title as *The Strategy of Ergatocracy*."

"What's that last word?" I asked breathlessly.

"Er-gat-o-cra-cy. I thought you knew that."

"No. It's new to me. What is it like when it's at home?"

"I thought you were a scholar. However, I'm glad I am able to teach you something. It shows that you writers of comic articles who pretend to be so damn clever are a fraud. My idea is that you just write comic in order to hide your ignorance."

"That's quite likely," I remarked patiently. "But explicate."

"The word is from 'ergato,' workman, and 'cracy,' rule."

"But why not say so in English?"

"It is much handier for writing purposes."

"But you'd be better understood if you just wrote in English. If you use 'ergatocracy,' you might as well say 'umlulu,' which is Hottentot for silly ass."

"You needn't be so insulting. I know you always crack up your crowd for using plain English, but it only debases the working class. My idea is that if the working class wants to know what we mean, then it ought to be educated like we writers are."

"But supposing the working class has no time?"

"Then they ought to find time. If they drank less beer, they'd have more room for brains."

"Now, who's insulting? But anyway, you don't mean to say you'd go up to a fellow worker and say, 'Is it permissible for me to rogate you for a lignate illuminatory?'"

"Oh, rot."

"That's exactly what the fellow-worker would say. And if you used that language to the boss, he'd have you chucked outside before you could say 'ergatocrat.' You talk plain English to me six days out of the week, and on the seventh you sit down, after buying some special foolscap, and proceed to put together an entirely new language and call it an article for a worker's paper. Why not write exactly as you talk to me?"

"I'm not such a fool as to appear so undignified as all that. What do you suppose the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* would say if he saw such rot in a worker's paper? He'd say, of course, that it shows the half-baked education of the amateurs who try to run papers for the workers. And I won't say he wouldn't be wrong."

"Perhaps so. But I doubt it. I once knew an editor of an irreproachable capitalist daily—but that is another story. Anyway he called such plain language 'breezy' when it was used by a lately defunct lordship. The point is that a worker's paper is intended to be read by the workers, and not merely for the scholarly criticism of the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. Call a spade a spade and don't imagine ancient Greek is the language used in Lancashire. The Lancastrians will soon show you you are wrong, if you do."

NOTES OF A COMMUNIST.

The Need for Close Organisation.

Comrade Aldred's criticism in the current number of the *Spur* appears to indicate an extraordinary lack of appreciation for the great need of close organisation. The suggested "natural growth" process, of Communist groups automatically forming, then federating, and finally coalescing into a Party, is not in accord with the natural laws of economy of force. These demand that existing Communists should closely organise themselves, in order scientifically to carry out the work of permeation of Communist ideals for the whole country. Free-lance work is very haphazard and indefinite in results, and must be largely guided by personal financial considerations. An adequate staff of Communist organisers and propagandists, each drawing exactly the proletarian's wage, covering the whole country under the direction of a sovietised Party machine, embracing all existing revolutionary Communists, is the prime need for ultimate success.

Bolshevik Communism calls for a strict and self-disciplined organisation, controlled by the membership, and not loose propaganda at random. Just as scientific method has enormously multiplied the production of commodities in the industrial field, in comparison with the unco-ordinated production of the pre-scientific ages, exactly so can scientific method enormously multiply the results of Communist propaganda.

Open Air Propaganda.

Let us take an example in this field, a tactics that is undoubtedly of great use, especially concerning Communist permeation for the street or social soviets, for all those citizens whose point of production, whose sphere of socially useful activity, is in the home.

Here the great need is not so much the intensified work of already existing speakers, but the "mass production" of proletarian exponents of Communism. In a period of intense political ferment it may well happen that meetings would be held, not one evening a week in one street per borough, but every evening in every street throughout the Metropolis. I do not suppose there is any street in London where there are not half a dozen proletarians with a natural gift for expression of their ideas. It is the business of a Communist Party to find and develop those proletarians, to hold speakers' classes wherever there is a Party branch, to hold classes for the elements of Industrial History and Marxian Economics. Such mass organisation of effort for the whole country can only be carried through with a strongly centralised Party.

The National Inaugural Conference.

It was specially in view of this realised need for close organisation on accurately based Communist principles, that the Preliminary Conference took the step it did, and it is in realisation of the same need, that the Provisional Council of the Party then formed, is taking the further step of inviting the help and co-operation of all other revolutionary centres for the September Conference.

To "forge a weapon" capable of achieving revolutionary triumph, to organise within one power-machine the Communist urge of all British Revolutionaries, is a goal that is worthy of the greatest effort and personal abnegation.

I therefore trust that Comrade Guy Aldred, and all other influential Communists throughout the country, will show the same enthusiasm for organisation as they have in the past for propaganda, and use their influence in forging a strong Party at the September Conference, from whence forward all outstanding "names" in the Movement will be, in strict accord with Bolshevik tactics, integral parts of a solid, strictly disciplined organisation.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, August 27th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. T. Barker.

Saturday, 28th August. Liverpool Street, Camberwell. Local Party Speakers.

Sunday, August 29th. Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11 a.m. Communist Party Speakers.
Dock Gates, Poplar. 7 p.m. Minnie Birch and others.

Wednesday, September 1st, 7.30 p.m. Grove Lane, Camberwell.

Thursday, September 2nd. 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith. Local Branch members.

Communist Missionary Activity.

R. Bishop, a member of the Provisional Organising Council of the Party, left London on Saturday, 21st August, on a missionary tour on behalf of Communism. Route ahead: Coventry, Birmingham, Bristol and South Wales. The Party hopes to have in the near future other pioneers blazing the Red trail for Communism through the provinces.

Hospitality Required.

Any comrades willing to give hospitality to Fred Tyler, who is speaking for the Communist Party on a walking tour via Northampton, Kettering, Market Harborough, Loughborough, Nottingham, Mansfield, Worksop, Sheffield, Rotherham, and Mexborough, please write to E. T. Whitehead, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W.6.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT.

On September 4th. there will be a SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT of the *Workers' Dreadnought* with SOUTH WALES MINERS' views on a COMMUNIST PARTY. Send in your orders early to avoid disappointment.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

New Branch: City of London.

This branch was opened on Monday, August 16th, with a good nucleus of members. The Secretary is Comrade S. Ginsberg, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. The branch meetings will be held at the International Socialist Club, and propaganda will be carried on mainly in Hoxton. The Group was formed on the true Communist basis that "participation in Parliament, no matter for whatever ostensible reason, means assisting in the perpetuation of the chief function of that institution, which is to keep the workers divided."

All local revolutionary Communists are requested to link up in this group for organised Communist propaganda.

New Branch: Hull.

A new branch of the Party was formed in Hull, commencing with a nucleus of fifteen members, which is getting busy for Communism, disposing of 194 "Dreadnoughts" weekly, besides other literature. Will all unattached Communists in Hull communicate with the secretary of the new branch, Comrade F. Jackson, 62, Hawthorne Avenue, Hull.

COMRADES!

In order that it may be possible to found a genuine, uncompromising Communist Party in Britain, all unattached groups of Communists have been invited to attend a Conference convened by the Communist Party—the *DIRECT ACTION* Communist Party—to be held in Manchester, September 25th and 26th. To make this Conference a success and, therefore, to make a real, live Communist Party—or call it whatever you will—an established fact, funds are urgently needed *NOW*.

We ask for 1,000 Communists who will be willing to subscribe one shilling per week from when this meets the eye until the date of the Conference. Whatever the September Conference decides in the way of a Communist Party will be your concern—a strong body of earnest Communists in the country will have an effect in shaping revolutionary action. Make it your concern to provide the necessary wherewithal—in the shape of contributions—without delay, to:—

PERCY WALLIS: *Hon. Treasurer.*
18, Angel Road, Hammersmith, W.6.

Manchester.

This branch reports that 59 "Dreadnoughts" were sold during the past week, and other literature to the value of £2 15s. Door-to-door campaigns took place on three evenings last week at Openshaw, Ancoats, and Salford. That is the very best way to spread Communism, by going to talk with the workers in their homes. A good team of Reds working on these lines do more to educate their class than by confining themselves to the platform. All strength to the new tactics. Now that they have their new leaflets for distribution, we expect this work will go ahead. All unattached Manchester communists are asked to communicate with the Secretary, Comrade Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

Barking.

The sale of "Dreadnoughts" last week totalled 26. Class-conscious proletarians in Barking should get into touch with the local secretary, D. Roodzant, Glenhurst, Ripple Road, Barking. It is organisation for Communism that counts.

Camberwell.

Two Communist work parties have been held by the members on the Communist Saturday principle. This new branch requires additions to their strength to join in the organised push for Communism. Will all local "Reds" communicate with the Secretary, Miss A. L. Wylde Smith, 83, Clapham Road, S.W.9.

Borough of London, S.E.

Comrade A. Rook, 6, Borough Road, S.E., desires to form a branch for his area, and has already a preliminary nucleus of members. Unattached Communists in this proletarian area are asked to get into touch with him so that an inaugural meeting for a branch can be arranged.

To Unattached Party Members.

Comrades,—Communism and Sovietism require nothing so much at this moment as the thorough organisation of its propaganda. This is always done more effectively through co-ordinated effort in nuclei or groups of members, which later develop into strong branches. Will all unattached members, therefore, in areas where a definite group does not exist, who are willing to assist in forming a group for Communism, communicate with me. The growth of the party is regular and steady, but in place of thirty branches, revolutionary Communism needs three hundred centres, and then three thousand. Will you help to form one of these?

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Donations to Communist Party Funds.—Mrs. Birch 3s., Mr. Hodgson 1s., Mr. Reason 2s., J. Hill 1 dollar, Exeter Guarantors 5s., Barking Guarantors 5s., Camberwell Guarantors 6s.

Leaflet No. 1.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

(British Section of the Third International).

Fellow Householders,—We want to talk to you about Soviets.

What is a Soviet?

It is a Council of Workers' Delegates. In the Soviet system, all workers will be grouped at the place where they work. Those who work in the home will be grouped where they live, and will form HOUSEHOLD SOVIETS. Those who work in the factory, mine, mill, etc., will be grouped there, and will form INDUSTRIAL SOVIETS. Delegates from all these bodies will form DISTRICT SOVIETS, and so on.

Why do We Want Soviets?

Because the Parliamentary system is not based upon work; because Parliament represents the interests of the idle rich; because the Parliamentary machine is breaking down. WE WANT WORKERS' RULE, workers' administration. In the Soviet system, none but the workers will elect delegates to the Soviets, and these delegates can be recalled at any time. Non-workers have the Parliamentary vote, and, as you know, the votes of the non-workers really count much more than the votes of the workers. A member of Parliament is elected for many years. Once elected, the electors have no control over him. You know that the Parliamentary machine is breaking down, and that widespread disorder will result unless the workers have a new system to replace it.

What is the Communist Party?

It is a party formed by workers, to prepare for working-class rule, by means of the Soviet system. By that system, we shall be able to secure WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY, to organise the workers as a class against the oppression of the ruling class. The Communist Party aims at a new order of society, one in which the workers will have complete control, in which all men and women will have an equal chance, in which poverty and hunger will be unknown.

Will You Talk It Over?

A member of the local branch will be glad to visit you, in order to explain our ideas, and to hear your views. We want

All Power to the Workers. No Power to the Idlers.

WE think the only way to get these things is by the Soviet system. We want YOU to think the same. Let us talk it over.

Branch Address:
(Here follows name of Branch Secretary).

Copies of the above can be obtained at 15s. per 1,000 from the Manager, 10, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA DEMONSTRATION.

IN

VICTORIA PARK.

Sunday, September 5th, at 4 p.m.

For Speakers, see next week's *Dreadnought*.

The "DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE has a few back numbers of the paper. Comrades willing to distribute these in the workshop, etc., should apply to the *Dreadnought* Office, 152, Fleet Street.

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